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ABSTRACT

Noting that societies are inherently elitist in their structuring, this paper argues that a greater understanding of society and the communication process can be gained by comprehending the nature of communication among the elite and from the elite to the nonelite. It attempts to provide a theoretical foundation for the investigation of elite communication, which is lacking in the current literature in the field. It also offers an analysis of David Halberstam's "The Best and the Brightest" to illuminate the significance of the elite mythos. (Author/FL)

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Elite Communication: A Suggested Perspective For Communication Studies Scholars

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Abstract

This paper seeks to promote the investigation of elite communication. Societies are inherently elitist in their structuring. Thus, a greater understanding of society and the communication process can be gained if one comprehends the nature of communication among the elite and from the elite to the non-elite. This paper attempts to provide a theoretical foundation for this study which is lacking in the current literature in the field. Also, an analysis of David Halberstam's "best and brightest" is offered to illuminate the significance of the elite mythos.

Elite Communications: A Suggested Perspective For Communications Studies Scholars[1]

In recent years, scholars of communication studies have become increasingly interested in the study of elites. Much of this interest is derived from studies of policy formation and oral history. This work, although of great value, has only started to delve into this very rewarding field. This paper is offered as an encouragement to communication scholars to study the use of language by elites in their ordering of societies. One would hope that this study will stimulate interest in a perspective which may: first, foster a fuller understanding of the functioning of societies; and, second, offer greater insight into the nature of the communication process.

As Gaetano Mosca noted in his work The Ruling Class:

> . . . all societies--from societies that are meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawning of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies--two classes of people appear--a class that rules and a class that is ruled.[2]

This constant is true of all societies at all times. Regardless of the nominal structuring of societies (democracy, autocracy, republic) an elite must emerge. The history of man is the history of these elites--the priesthood of the Catholic Church during the Dark Ages, the officer corp of Imperial Germany, the managers of American industry in the

twentieth century, or even the "New Class" of the classless Soviet Union.

Everyone recognizes the existence of groups which exercise more influence than their numbers indicate would be appropriate. Yet, to be effective the scholar needs more than a feel for these groups if he is to identify and study them. The scholar must have a functional definition to aid his analysis. Mosca's studies identified the critical component of any elite--an elite controls power. Mosca defined this "ruling class" as that minority which exercises all legitimate power and which seeks to maximize the "enjoyment of socially available values."[3] In this context, an acceptable definition of power is necessary. The classic definition offered by Thomas Hobbes will be more than adequate. For Hobbes:

> The power of man, to take it universally, is his present means to obtain some future apparent good, and is either original or instrumental. Natural power is the eminence of the faculties of body or mind, as extraordinary strength, form, prudence, arts, eloquence, liberality, nobility. Instrumental are those powers which, acquired by these or by fortune, are means and instruments to acquire more, as riches, reputation, friends, and the secret workings of God, which men call luck.[4]

Different manifestations of power are characteristic of different elites. For example, a primitive society may be characterized by an elite of male hunter-warriors or an advanced society may be characterized by an asexual scientific-intellectual elite. In both cases the elite is composed of those individuals whose skills are most vital to

their societies. According to Mosca, the scholar should concentrate on these individuals at the apex of the society to be studied. Still, one is left somewhat at a loss as to how one should determine who is at the cultural peak.

Vilfredo Pareto was more descriptive, and ultimately more specific in his view of those who constitute an elite. Pareto believed that one could distinguish, in all human activities, those individuals who excelled above all others. The elite is that group of individuals who are leaders of their fields of endeavor.[5] This definition greatly expands the scope of the investigation of elites. All fields have their own elite. How will the scholar choose a representative sample from the population of elites? Pareto came to the aid of the scholar by introducing a delimitation within the total elite group:

> Within the elite we may further distinguish a "governing elite" from a "non-governing elite." The elite within many branches of human activities--chess-playing, for example . . .--does not exert an appreciable influence on political affairs and social structure.[6]

This paper will focus upon this governing elite and the influence it exercises over the structure and functioning of a society.

Having attempted to formulate a functional definition of elites, one may attempt to gain further insight into the nature of elites by examining their relationship to societies. The Marxian theory of historical materialism is of great help in this analysis. Marxism maintains that

societies are the product of economic factors. This relationship is visualised in the "structure--super-structure" model of cultural development. In this model the structure is composed of economic forces [i.e., the mode of production (technological and organizational), the means of distribution, and the economic structure]. The super-structure is the culture itself (i.e., religion, form of government, custom, family structure, and so on). Frederick Engels wrote:

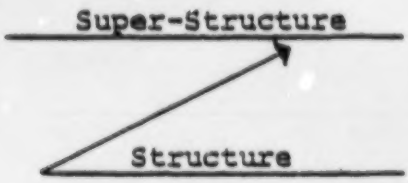
> The material conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; and that every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society is divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged.[7]

The importance of this relationship is noted by Karl Marx in 1859:

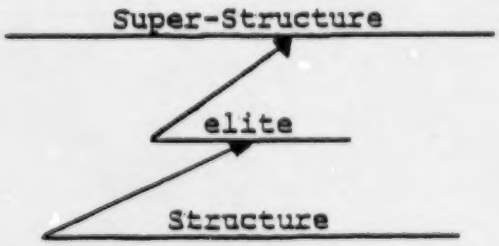
> In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society--the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their beings, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with existing relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change

> of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.[8]

The relationship between structure and super-structure may be graphically portrayed as:



How then may one adjudicate the distinction in the origins of society as depicted by Mosca and Pareto and Marx and Engels? Quite simply that elites structure societies and the structure determines qualifications necessary for admission to the ruling or governing elite. To return to two examples previously noted, in a primitive society strength and cunning may be required as prerequisites of entrance into the leadership of a hunter-warrior elite, in the modern post-industrial society technical ability and knowledge may be demanded of those who would be numbered among the elite. In each case the economic-technical base of society has made certain "powers" (recall Hobbes) necessarry for admission to the governing elite. This relationship may be depicted as:



The theorists of elites recognized the importance of language to their studies. Pareto noted in his work that--above all else--man is a "verbal animal."[8] How then does the elite utilize language in its ordering of society? Mosca was the first theorist to address this issue. For Mosca, the elite imposes order through the creation of a "political formula." The political formula need not be "true" in a scientific sense; it need only offer a "rational" justification for the existence of the elite.[9] Thus, the question of the truth or falseness of the National Socialist racial myths may not interest the scholar as much as the effectiveness of the justification for Nazis rule. Mosca's chief concern seems to be the justification of the elite's rule to the non-elite.

This problem of establishing legitimacy does not concern oral historian James Wilkie. For Wilkie, the chief concern is the myth system generated for internal use. This "elitelore" has three components: first, "self-perception;" second, "self-organization of ideas about personal (as well as group) past;" and third, "self-justification for actions through which a leader develops a meaningful life-history framework."[11] Wilkie belives that the scholar should concentrate on the self-image of the elite.

The differing emphasis of the myth systems of Mosca and Wilkie may seem to suggest that the content of the systems are not always identical or even that they are mutually exclusive. This is not the case. The work of

Robert Michels indicates that the elite's self-conception will be identical to its justification to rule. The elite must impose its myth system on the non-elite if society is to be functional. An elite which does not enjoy the support (or at least acquiescence) of the non-elite cannot remain at the pinnacle of society very long. Michels contended that the leader must offer ". . . the force of will which reduces to obedience less powerful wills," and ". . . a catonian strength of conviction, a force of ideas often verging on fanaticism, and which arouses the respect of the masses by its very intensity. . . ."[12] The myth system is the web of language which unites and directs the elite and integrates the elite into the social structure.

These myth systems may seem arational--if not irrational--to the outside observer. One may have difficulty in accepting these myths at a rational level, yet these myths are the very structuring of societies from which they are drawn. One may go so far as to conclude that the myth system dictates what is rational in a culture. The historical validity of such a sweeping judgement is easily perceived in the development of the sciences in the Soviet Union. Because Marxist ideology embraced a dialectical logic, the Soviet leadership required scientists to justify their work through this logic, regardless of the validity of the results. The result was the travesty of Trofim Lysenko's "Soviet Biology."[13]

The analysis of the myth systems of the elite may seem to suggest that these myth systems are somehow bad and are to be avoided. This conclusion would be in error. First, just as societies cannot avoid the emergence of elites, societies cannot avoid the myths these elites generate. Second, to assume that these myth systems are inherently destructive would be a great oversimplification. The myth system performs an essential function in society. As Mosca noted:

> . . . political formulas are /not/ mere quackaries aptly invented to trick the masses into obedience. Anyone who views them in that light would fall into grave error. The truth is that they answer a real need in man's nature; and this need, so universally felt, of governing and knowing one is governed not on the basis of mere material or intellectual force, but on the basis of a real moral principle, has beyond any doubt a practical and real importance.[14]

In this context, the role of the scholar is not to attempt to explode the myth. Indeed, Georges Sorel argued that it could not be destroyed within the given social structure:

> A myth cannot be refuted, since it is, at bottom, identical with the convictions of a group, being the expression of these convictions in the language of movement; and it is, in consequence, unanalyzable into parts which could be placed on the plane of historical descriptions.[15]

The scholar must be concerned with utility of the myth system in order to gain an understanding of its function.

One of the more important tools available to the communication scholar in his study of elite mythos is the oral history interview. The oral history interview does not replace other sources of data, but rather serves to supplement

and clarify these sources. The unique advantage of the oral history interview is the interaction it allows between the interviewer and the interviewee. This "speech and counter-speech" allows the scholar and the subject to shape the document that is produced. The communications scholar, through the oral history interview, has an opportunity to gain an understanding of the guiding mythos of an elite superior to the understanding available through the written word.[16]

An eloquent study of the effect of elitelore is found in David Halberstam's The Best and the Brightest. Halberstam made extensive use of oral sources when he wrote of an elite which he identified as the Eastern Establishment.[17] The study sought an understanding of this elite and the effect which its myth system had on America's involvement in the police-action in South-East Asia. Halberstam highlighted his tapestry of failure with the thesis that an apolitical club of realistic, rational individuals must fill the vacuum left by mere politicians in the conduct of foreign policy.[18] Given this thesis, one is left to watch as Götterdämmerung unfolds.

The Eastern Establishment was an elite in every sense of the word. During the latter days of the Second World War, Secretary of War Stimson and Chief-of-Staff Marshal assembled a small, close-knit group of foreign policy advisors drawn from the law firms and banking houses of New York and Boston. The influence of these men--Forrestal,

Dillon, Acheson, Harrison, Dulles, Lovett--is felt to this day. All were men of no particular political party; all, men of the right families; all, men of the correct schools and clubs; all men who knew the rules of the game of power and who were master players. Surrounding this elite, and much later, their successors, was an aura of historic inevitability which would have shamed even a Marxist. Were they not the men who had awaken a dormant democracy to smite Facism? Had they not stemmed the Red tide which sought to overwhelm the West? Could any man deny their right to control the helm of state?[19]

Into this mythos walked, in 1960, a young, eager, but respectful John F. Kennedy. Having waged a very idealistic campaign for the presidency, Kennedy turned to the shadowy Establishment personified by Robert Lovett, the last of the old guard, to begin the business of governing the nation.[20] And although Lovett declined a position in the cabinet, he provided Kennedy with a list of all the "right" people. Thus did the mantle descend--Rusk, the good man at Rockerfeller; McNamara, the Ford whiz kid; Taylor, the gentleman's general; the brothers Bundy and the rest.[21] All soon to be caught in a trap from which they could not escape without denying their social right to exist.

The campaign wages by this elite on a distant, faceless foe was <u>flawless</u>. Never had so many brilliant minds concerned themselves with so many intelligence reports, computer print-outs and raw data. These men were determined

not to be responsible for the loss of another China. The men on the ground were their men and their men were in complete control, loyally serving their trusting masters. The magnificence of the machine was awesome. The message which permeated the machine swept all opposition before it --we are right, we cannot fail, we want results. And if the results were not forthcoming one need not trouble the folks back home. Perhaps if pushed, an ambitious second Lieutenant or embassy official could up the body count or discover another "safe" hamlet or. . . .[22] The machine was intrinsically flawed by the demands made upon its components--demands required by the mythos. Thus, the final product of the machine was failure.

While The Best and the Brightest is not the only example of the effects of elitelore in this nation, it remains a profoundly moving and disturbing documentation of the effect of one elite's lore in a society. The tragedy of Vietnam touched every American and remains to this day as a ghastly scar to American national resolve. Yet, the tragedy can be understood only if one understands the cataclysm suffered by the Establishment as reflected through its individual members who were destroyed by Vietnam. Halberstam demonstrated the critical importance of understanding the myth system of the elite in the decision making process which was to ensnare it.

What should the scholar seek in his study of elite myth systems? James Wilkie studied this question from

the perspective of the oral historian. His observations are relevant to any scholar studying this mythos.

Wilkie first noted the phenomenon of the flawless elite. As previously noted, elitelore is self-perception which need not bear any understandable relationship to "reality" (for the observer external to the myth system). Wilkie wrote:

> . . . it may be said that generally the elite prefer never 'to make mistakes' but rather 'to learn from experiences.' In this view, men do not necessarily lie to others--they deceive themselves.[23]

Two explanations for this occurrence are given. First, as with any group of people, the elite attempts to maintain cognitive stability through the holding of consistent beliefs and attitudes. Thus, the elite will tend to reject information which contradicts its value system (i.e., the mythos).[24] Halberstam presents an interesting example of this self-deception in General Maxwell Taylor. Taylor was a staunch advocate of an option of "flexible response" with conventional military forces. Although one may effectively argue that this option was vastly superior to the strategic weapons fetish of Taylor's peers, Taylor was himself locked into a conventional weapons mind-set. Taylor was never able to admit Vietnam was not a conventional military operation. Rather than allowing American forces to respond to an opponent using unconventional tactics, Taylor sought to fight another Korean War.[25]

The second explanation for this self-deception is the concern of the elite for its place in history. As Wilkie observed:

> . . . political leaders all too often are concerned more with maintaining their legend than with destroying it. With good reason, they are aware that the life of their ideas depends to a large extent on the survival of their own image.[26]

This consideration is certainly understandable. No man is expected to deny the significance of his own life. The elite has the additional burden of justifying the philosophy which guides their conduct.

Wilkie noted several recurring flaws in the projected myth systems of elites. First, "leaders operate with information systems which are incomplete."[27] No one--elite or non-elite--has an "accurate" view of historical events. Such a view pre-supposes a knowledge base available only to a Hegelian absolute being or God. Consequently, the elite's view of history may only come from the interpretations (or linguistic possibilities) available to the elite at any given time.[28] Halberstam recognized this inherent weakness in the interpretational process of The Eastern Establishment. The inability of the American leadership to gain an accurate view of the conditions on the ground in South-East Asia virtually assured failure. Second, even if man was capable of "knowing" the complete set of events which compose a given historical event, they may possess a non-functional interpretation of the significance of this set of events.[29] The fall of China is an outstanding example

of this phenomenon. American policy makers were only too aware of the event. The triumph of Mao was universally hailed as an American defeat--a defeat for which someone had to pay. The pound of flesh was exacted by Joseph McCarthy from the small, professional China desk of the Department of State. The American foreign policy elite saw the significance of the fall of China as yet another Russian victory in the march toward world domination. Halberstam wrote that the greater, and more "accurate", significance of the fall of China was the destruction of that body of men who were in a unique position to have understood the mistakes which America was to later make by becoming involved in South-East Asia.[30] The tragedy of China was the tragedy of Vietnam a decade later.

This analysis of the effects of a single elite's myth system on American involvement in South-East Asia is offered to demonstrate that elitlore is not simply a tool to understand the past (which it certainly is), but that this lore is of vital concern in the present. Only by understanding the nature and content of the mythos of the current elite can one understand society.

Some work has been done in recent years to foster a fuller understanding of the inner workings of elite groups. Among the more interesting works is that of Irving Janis. Janis noted that often one may detect a phenomenon known as "groupthink" when an elite attempts to make a policy decision. Groupthink is the maintenance of ". . . <u>esprit</u>

de corps by unconsciously developing a number of shared illusions and related norms that interfere with critical thinking and reality testing.'[31] In short, groupthink is the product of the elite's mythos. Groupthink yields ". . . a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgement" which can prove disastrous.[32] According to Janis, groupthink is responsible for American foreign policy failures at the Bay of Pigs, North Korea and other debacles.

Janis' case for the existence of groupthink is sound; his solutions have much merit. Janis calls upon governing elites to structure their decision making process to maximize the opportunities for dissent.[33] However, Janis does not tell the reader how consultations within the elite solves a problem produced by the myth system of the entire elite. If the problem of groupthink has its origins in the elite's myth system, the answer must be sought there too. At the risk of falling into Wilsonian rhetoric, one must note that only by making an elite aware of the dangers inherent in dogmatic adherence to a rigid political formula can the world be made safe from this threat.[34] The communication scholar can aid society at two levels by promoting an understanding of elite myth systems and their effects on society. First, the communication scholar can promote this understanding by studying the rhetoric of former governing elites. This study should stimulate interest in the working of elites in the present as well as in the past.

An elite that wishes to retain power would have a real aid in these studies and in the lessons they teach. While these studies do not insure the avoidance of disaster, they may create a healthier environment.

Second, the communication scholar can conduct and analyze on-going oral interviews with contemporary elites. These interviews may not achieve the "correct" historical perspective on the elite, but, at the very least, they serve as an invaluable historical resource.

Of equal interest to the scholar of communication is what he can learn of the communication process itself. In a recent article for The Quarterly Journal of Speech, Andrew King studied the rhetorical strategies used by elites to preserve their power. King noted that:

> Conflict is an integral part of the experience of dominance. New clusters of power are always arising to challenge the old. Since continuous, direct combat is physically and emotionally exhausting, schemes of limited warfare have been worked out. . . . Combat needs rules, and its arts can become codified as objects of study.[35]

Clearly, this codification is part of the elite myth system. A fuller understanding of the functioning of an elite as it attempts to retain power against a competing elite may foster an understanding of interpersonal and organizational communication applicable to many other situations as well.

In a work published posthumously, Abraham Maslow called upon man to create a "humanistic biology." The goal of this biology would be the identification of superior individuals and of the qualities that make them superior.

After one had identified the superior elements of the superior specimen, one could promote the general good of man by allowing everyone to reach his full potential in the good society. The good society would be that society which promotes these superior characteristics.[36] The communication scholar should attempt to establish a "humanistic communication studies" to identify those individuals and groups with superior communications skills. Elites seem to constitute the superior specimens. The success that these elites enjoy in their structuring of societies gives the scholar a yardstick with which he may measure their communication skills. Thus, the study of elites may aid the non-elite as well as the elite. By incorporating the communication techniques into the "good society" all may become better communicators.

The goal of this paper has been promote a better understanding of the communication of elites. Particular emphasis has been given to providing a theoretical grounding which seems to be lacking in the literature to date. It is hoped that this paper has provided greater insight into the nature and importance of the study of elites. With the recognition that an elitist interpretation of history may "run counter to the fund of experience" of many, this study is not normative but is rather a recognition of the de facto power that elites enjoy in society. This social reality is as true now as when Shakespeare wrote in Pericles, Prince of Tyre:

Third Fisherman: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

First Fisherman: Why, as men do a-land; the great ones eats up the little ones.[37]

Notes

[1]I wish to acknowledge the contributions made to my thoughts and the many forums for refinement of the ideas found in this paper provided by Professors Annabel D. Hagood, E. Culpepper Clark, Eva. M. McMahan and Michael J. Hyde of the Department of Speech Communication and Professor Daniel W. Pound of the Department of Political Science at the University of Alabama. A special thank-you is offered to Michael Hyde for serving as faculty advisor for this undertaking. Also, I would be remiss if I did not thank Mr. Walter Kennamer of the Case Western Reserve University, Mr. Gary Padgett of the University of Kentucky, Mr. John Mandt of the University of Alabama and Dr. S. R. Hill of Mississippi State University for their unceasing patience and advise without which I would not have finished this paper.

[2]Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class: Elementi di Scienza Politica, trans. Hannah D. Kahn (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), p. 50.

[3]Michael Weinstein, Philosophy, Theory, and Method in Contemporary Political Thought (London: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971), p. 163.

[4]Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1958), p. 78.

[5]Vilfredo Pareto, The Mind and Society, trans. Arthur Livingston and Andrew Bongiorno; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), III, pp. 1423-1424.

[6]James Burnham, The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1943), p. 234.

[7]Frederick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (New York: International Publishers Company, 1975), p. 54.

[8]Karl Marx, "The Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,'" On the Theory of Marxism, ed. the editors of the Proletarian Publishers (San Francisco: Proletarian Publishers), p. 11.

[9]Burnham, p. 205.

[10]Mosca, p. 71.

[11]James W. Wilkie, Elitelore (Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, 1973), p. 9.

[12]Robert Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Hearst's International Library Company, 1915), p. 72.

[13]R. N. Carew Hunt, The Theory and Practice of Communism (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1950), pp. 52-53. Adam B. Ulam, Stalin: The Man and his Era (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), pp. 650-652.

[14]Mosca, p. 71.

[15]Georges Sorel, Reflections on Violence, trans. T. E. Hulme and J. Roth (New York: Collier Books, 1950), p. 50.

[16]E. Culpepper Clark, Eva M. McMahan, and Michael Hyde, "Communication in the Oral History Interview: Investigating Problems of Interpreting Oral Data," a paper presented at the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Speech Communication Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 5, 1978. Michael J. Hyde, "Philosophical Hermeneutics and the Communicative Experience: The Paradigm of Oral History," a paper presented to the Annual Convention of the Society for Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 4, 1978. The oral history research team at the University of Alabama (Clark, et al., p. 3) defines oral history as:

> . . . in the broadest sense another term for conversation. Its generic function is to transmit a culture by word of mouth. It can include everything from folklore, to the psycho-analytic interview, to the grandparent reminiscing about the Depression. Oral history is therefore conversation which is defined by its purpose or function. . . . Oral history may be defined as the process whereby an historian seeks to create historical evidence through conversation with a person whose life experience is deemed memorable.

As noted, the oral history interview does not replace other sources of data, but rather serves to supplement and clarify these sources. As Hans-Georg Gadamer noted (Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method, 2nd ed., 1965, ed. Carret Braden and John Cumming (New York. The Seabury Press, 1975), 317): "Writing has the methodological advantage that it presents the hermeneutical /or interpretational/ problem /of historical research/ in all its purity, detached from everything psychological." The advantage of the oral sources resides in the increased potential for self-correction. For Gadamer, ". . . no one could come to the aid of the written word if it falls victim to mis-understanding, intentional or unintentional." (Gadamer, p. 317)

The specific advantage of the oral history interview is found in its maximization of the potential for a "correct" recording and understanding of historical interpretations. This interpretive advantage is due to the dialectical nature of the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. These two individuals must hold different interpretations of the world because, as unique individuals, they have been subjected to different life experiences resulting in unique sets of "linguistic possibilities." Thus the "speech and counter-speech of the interview process gives the possibility of several different outcomes.

For any given interview with interviewer X and interviewee Y, there exist two forms of "conflict" between the competing world views--contradiction and contrariety. Contradiction may be said to occur ". . . . when X and Y reify their separate understandings, interpretations, and meanings of any feature Z." Contradiction may yield one of three resolutions:

(a) X affirms his world view and Y affirms his world view.

(a_1) X affirms his world view and Y acquiesces to X.

(a_2) Y affirms his world view and X acquiesces to Y.

Contrariety may be said to occur ". . . when both X and Y maintain their separate understandings, interpretations, and meanings of any feature of Z while acknowledging the potential validity of the other's world-view." Contrariety may yield one of four resolutions:

(b_1) The world-view of X affirmed; the world-view of Y disaffirmed.

(b_2) The world-view of Y affirmed; the world-view of X disaffirmed.

(b_3) The world-view of both X and Y are affirmed as these world-views are synthesized and acquire new meaning.

(b_4) The world-views of both X and Y are disaffirmed as new meaning of Z emerges.

Through this on-going process of conflict the scholar may attempt a fuller understanding of elite mythos.

[17]David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publication, Inc., 1972), p. 7.

[18]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[19]Ibid., pp. 11-14.

[20]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[21]Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[22]Ibid., p. 374.

[23]Wilkie, p. 41.

[24]Robert Baron, Donn Byrne, and Berry Kantowitz, Psychology: Understanding Behavior (Philadelphia: W.D. Saunders Company, 1977), p. 414. Charles Gruner, Cal Logue, Dwight Freshley, and Richard Huseman, Speech Communication in Society (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), pp. 195-197. Wilkie, p. 41.

[25]Halberstam, pp. 200-204.

[26]Wilkie, p. 29.

[27]Ibid., p. 61.

[28]Robert M. Pirsig, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1974), esp. p. 311. This book is a personal favorite and provides the single most readable discussion on the problems of "objective" or "scientific" knowledge of which I am aware.

[29]Wilkie, p. 61.

[30]Halberstam, p. 145.

[31]Irving L. Janis, Victims of Groupthink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), pp. 35-36.

[32]Ibid., p. 9.

[33]Ibid., pp. 209-219.

[34]If Janis' analysis of man's brush with Armageddon in Cuba in 1962 is not enough to make this point, I suggest the analysis of the outbreak of World War One found in John G. Stoessinger's Why Nations Go to War. Stoessinger notes the role played by the perspectives of the various world leaders which led to the destruction of the European World. These perspectives are the mythos. John G. Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 1-32.

[35]Andrew A. King, "The Rhetoric of Power Maintenance: Elites at the Precipice," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, April 1976, p. 134.

[36]Abraham H. Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), pp. 3-24.

[37]William Shakespeare, "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), Act II, Scene I, p. 953.